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OH MAMA,  
WHAT IS IT,  
THE LEFT WING OF  
THE STATE?



A CONVERSATION  
BETWEEN A MOTHER  
CAT AND HER KITTEN  
REGARDING THE  
NATURE OF LEFTISM  
AND THE STATE  
BY MONSIEUR  
DUPONTE

# introduction

This is a sample of Monsieur Duponts' writings, written by pil pil. MD is a rather strange phenomenon. Hailing from the UK, they have published a few very interesting pieces to contribute to an anarchist and seemingly ultra-left communist tendency. Their most well known, although difficult to get a hold of, works is Nihilist Communism, a critique of Optimism. Soon, we will be distributing more of their work. Perhaps Nihilist Communism will appear in such a selection.

We have chosen to print this unauthorized edition because we believe that MD has quite a bit of useful ideas and critiques to sharpen the anarchist and insurrectional lens. Particularly today, when the recent surge of radicalism is being swallowed by a Leftist leviathan and so-called anarchists are praising Chavez. Also, kittens are cute .

Kisses,

-Liam Sionnach (S.Appalachia'06)

*Dearest kitten, again and again the left wing seeks to curtail the Events and bind them, reduce them, into a mere energy source for its profane politics. Such is the expedient beauty of the crowd and how it appears in great men's resentful thoughts. But our knowledge runs against their's, we know that communism is Events or it is nothing. We know that the crowd is always sufficiently organised within itself, as it opens itself, and becoming the vessel of the Events' unfolding. Communism begins in the crowd and flourishes in the crowd's spontaneous becoming towards objective events. It realises itself in the supersession of the political sphere just as communism is properly the supersession of all mystified and alienated class-based institutions... now, dearest kitten, tell me, what is our purpose?*

Oh mama, it must be to confront the left wing for it is the left ideology and its promotion of political solutions that is most intimately bound with capital's mystification of ideas.

*Dearest kitten, then what is the first of our critical tools?*

Oh mama, it is that we shall identify the counter-revolutionary as the him that quotes lenin approvingly, and in full knowledge of Kronstadt. And in contradistinction to the left wing we identify ourselves as being of the crowd, and in our resolution never to think from the position of the state's reasoning.

*Dearest kitten, well done. The lenin quoter observes the crowd down the barrel of another's machine gun. His watchword is 'shoot them down like partridges.' And so to our watchword... speak it.*

Oh mama, it is: *no common cause.*

*Dearest kitten, NO COMMON CAUSE, well done, and now you shall have some pie.*

*Dearest kitten, mama is so very pleased to infer from this question a burgeoning sophistication in your ideas; for, as your critique now twists upon itself, you begin to move from simple positionism and towards the central matter of the pro-revolutionary perspective.*

Oh mama, the day passes heavily and I have lost my mittens. I did hope to deflect you from chastisement with this didactic matter which I well know is so dear to your heart but now I feel I have betrayed the filial bond in not asking sooner, in not asking appropriately.

*Dearest kitten, all the better. Your false question will receive a smart reply and the shame that you now feel shall act as the mnemonic contrivance by which I impose a thorough theoretical consistency upon your practice.*

Oh mama, then tell me. I do hope I am equal to the question before us, though my eyes now sting with tears of chagrin.

*Dearest kitten, I shall begin my account without delay. From this moment you will remember that the left wing of the state is that inauthentic, jagged little fragment which covers the embarrassment of its integration with an antagonistic political ideology. The left wing is the state's introjected ill feelings for itself. More precisely, it is that fragment of the bourgeoisie, typically situated in the academy, which attempts to think and thereby undo the Event of revolution but from a seemingly revolutionary perspective.*

Oh mama, isn't it though... isn't it that the proper allegiance of the left wing of the state is always revealed (and often too late) to be running parallel to the composition of its class character and therefore in contradistinction to its espoused political values?

*Dearest kitten you approach the matter as if walking upon rice paper. The left wing's political function is to return the exploiter class to political power but for ostensibly divergent reasons (it proposes reason, education, justice over 'outdated' dogmatics, traditions and the arbitrary); in the economic sphere of course, the bourgeois class does not contest its own right to dictate, it merely argues for the necessity of objective reform.*

Oh mama, then that must be why the Bolsheviks short circuited 'all power to the workers' councils' and insisted on centralised ideological direction...

*Dearest kitten, you are right. Of course you are right, it is because the leninist ideology guarantees to social professionals the escalation of their own managerialism into a totalised way of life, that this fraction is undone precisely by the simple reflection of itself in its ideas. The simple self-affirmation of the leadership role in practice realises itself by continually reproducing a wishful consciousness for the 'efficiency' of jacobinist institutions....*

Oh mama, then at no point might the marxist-leninist turn be considered by pro-revolutionaries to be anything other than an implementation of a revolutionary transformation which leaves everything as it is. Might we not characterise the Bolshevik ideology as a partially desublimated egalitarianism, but also an ideology which nevertheless cannot contain its all-consuming class hatred against the workers beyond the representations of them?

*Dearest kitten, from the start the Bolshevik counterrevolution sought to channel social upheaval into its reconfiguration of political economy and thereby convert revolt into labour value. As its purpose was to retain class distinctions it always made its interventions count against the direct seizure, and thus the undoing of, production's command over lived life. The Bolsheviks' strategic goal was always to integrate the general economy with the specifics of its own political power.*

Oh mama, I do think the counterrevolution is too clever for us. After all we can only go on what people say before they are in power. And if the left wing is talking of radical change, in the same way in which we are talking of radical change, then how can we ever separate ourselves from them? How can we be sure that we are not aiding them in their pursuit of consolidation?

*Dearest kitten, do not become prematurely despondent. We should not resign ourselves to coming face to face with this devil only at the moment of another Supreme Soviet's triumph of centralisation, on the contrary. The signs of the left wing's complicity, of the determination of its ideas by its class position, occur almost at every point in its interventions, which it calls 'politics'. It is simply a matter of knowing how to look.*

Oh mama, then please give me the clue for even now there is an encroachment from the shadows.

*Dearest kitten, then study hard these words, they are a common enough formulation; tell me what you find in them:*

**'BUT THE THEMATICS OF THE CROWD ARE ONLY A MANIFESTATION OF WHAT LENIN CALLED SPONTANEISM: AN UP-RISING WILL ACHIEVE NOTHING WITHOUT ORGANISATION. ZIZEK HAS RECENTLY REMINDED US OF THIS; RECALLING THE EVENTS OF MAY 1968, DERRIDA WILL ALSO VOICE A SIMILAR CONCERN: HE DISLIKED 'VIBRATING IN UNISON', HE SAYS, AND EVEN THEN, THE EVENTS ARE NOT YET A POLITICS. COMMUNISM REMAINS ETIOLATED UNLESS IT JOINS THE CALL TO GO OUTSIDE WITH A DETERMINATE POLITICAL PROGRAMME.'**  
(FROM [HTTP://SPURIOUS.TYPEPAD.COM/](http://SPURIOUS.TYPEPAD.COM/) (10/03/05))

Oh mama, this is less the philosophy of the firing squad (in which, after all, one might find some merit) than it is a philosophy for the firing squad. This one makes arguments for the Committee of Public Safety like it was 1792.

*Dearest kitten, one more step if you wish to become a dialectician.*

Oh mamma, then it is to the details that we shall turn; the author advances with his bootlaces tied together, he permits hostile comment on the crowd but is unable to quote the crowd's critique of its would-be leaders. With this omission he demonstrates his class antagonism towards the crowd itself. The call for organisation belongs to the organising classes, the middle managers, the social professionals, the state's well-educated functionaries. 'Organisation' is always a call for the suppression of the crowd's key character – so it is that the purpose of the left wing is the reintegration of the crowd as a harnessed use value, the tortoise is turned over. And the dream of the left wing is that the crowd under the stewardship of the party becomes a local expression of the state's will.

*Dearest kitten, now catch your breath. It is true that the pursuit of organisation by the left wing indicates a class hostility towards the crowd, and a fear of its crowdness. It is the eruptiveness of the masses that it wishes to undo.*

Oh mama, then what is this dead bird, 'a determinate political programme'?